The CRISIS

Vol. 23—No. 5 MARCH, 1922 Whole No. 137

ONE DOLLAR AND A HALF A YEAR FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

28th Annual Financial Statement

of the

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

(Condensed)

RECEIPTS 1921

Jan. 1, 1921, Cash Balance Brought Forward	$ 98,688.17
Dec. 31, 1921, Annual Income	781,392.32
Gross Receipts for 1921	$880,080.49

DISBURSEMENTS

Dec. 31, 1921, Total Paid Out (Including investments made during the year)	$807,957.60
Cash Balance Dec. 31, 1921	$ 72,122.89

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Cash Balance Dec. 31, 1921	$72,122.89	Capital Stock	$30,000.00
Real Estate	362,266.71	Bills Payable (Unmatured notes on Purchase Price of another Company's debit)	60,412.24
Real Estate Mortgages	56,082.48	Real Estate Mortgage (Mortgage assumed on recent purchase)	4,000.00
Federal, State and City Bonds	42,258.00	Deposits of Employees	17,400.63
Bills Receivable	12,774.29	Ledger Accounts	7,510.00
Furniture and Fixtures	7,500.00	SURPLUS FUND	468,892.31
Inventories of Sundry Accts	5,210.81		
Total	$588,215.18	Total	$588,215.18

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS	$ 498,892.31
Total Amount of Claims Paid to Dec. 31, 1921	2,511,894.92

The unusual business depression of 1921 was a fiery trial to practically all businesses. The Industrial Sick Benefit Business was especially adversely affected by the lack of employment of thousands of policyholders. Some were forced to retire. Most of them experienced a great slump in the year's business. Only a few were able to show an increase in business over the former year. *The Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc.*, was numbered among the favored few.

The *Society* did its largest business during 1921. It served acceptably a larger number of people than ever before. It is now better prepared to protect its membership—through its New Liberal Policy—which provides for One Small Premium, protection against Sickness, Accident and Death.

District Offices and Agencies located throughout the State of Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

Home Office: 527 N. Second Street

RICHMOND, VA.

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

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Drawing by John Henry Adams

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THE APRIL CRISIS

The April Crisis will be our Easter Number. It will contain an article on Negro banks and a striking story by Robert W. Bagnall. A beautiful cover, of course.

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The School of Arts and Sciences offers two courses of study, the Classical and the Scientific. In the scientific, German is substituted for Greek or Latin. The entrance requirement for the Freshman Class is 15 units of High School work.

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Spring Quarter ..... March 18, 20, 1922

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 23. No. 5 MARCH, 1922 Whole No. 137

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

BODDY

WHAT more pathetic, baffling, and heartrending case can one conceive? Here is a boy of nineteen—too young even to have begun to live. He is comely, straight, quick of brain, and with lightning speed of hands. He can read and write. He has spent two years in the high school. And yet he stands today a murderer, frank and red-handed.

He has been in jail; he has been in the penitentiary; he has been in the army. He has stolen; he has killed. Now society is going to kill him. Why? Whose fault is it? Who made this boy what he is?

Society assumes that he is to blame, but he is not wholly to blame and it is barely possible that he is not a bit to blame. How fair a chance to live has he had? First, it is a question if his own family and companions and race have shown any real and continued interest in him. They have been content to call his energy and quickness and revolt against bonds, "badness". They have withdrawn from him and let him go his way. He has figured for years as one of the "bad boys" of Harlem, for whose reform his own people have had no adequate program and for whose type they have had no sympathetic understanding.

His city and his country have laughed at him, insulted him, hated him, given him few places for play or recreation, and filled his ears with too true stories of outrage and lynching. We can kill this boy, and perhaps in the horrible muddle of our penal code there is nothing else to do.

But one or two things must ring in our ears forever. He said: "They kick and knock you about for two or three hours in the station house." They do and we know it; it is one of the greatest outrages of our present police system. It has been said that Boddy himself has been beaten by the police a dozen times when they could prove nothing against him. It is said the dead detectives have beaten and killed unconvicted Negroes, and slapped and insulted black women.

His mother said, "They taught him to shoot in the army." They did. Millions of boys have lately been taught to shoot in the armies of the world, and civilization is to blame for the murders which they did in the army and for those which they are doing outside the army.

And finally, when this boy is dead, remember that the same forces which made him what he was are alive and powerful and working to make others like him.

BLACK FRANCE

THE article by Norman Angell in *The Freeman* reveals an astonishing attitude of mind in higher quarters than we had hitherto looked to see it. To the ordinary American or Englishman, we have always realized, the race question is at bottom simply a matter of the ownership of women; white men want the right to own and use all women, colored and white, and they resent any intrusion of colored men into this domain.

This, as we have said has long been the attitude of the ordinary white man, but we had scarcely thought to see this attitude illustrated in an article by Norman Angell.

Mr. Angell by way of climax reminds us of the use of white French prostitutes for colored soldiers in France; and his use of this illustration is apparently not to make us hate prostitution—for when was there an army that did not thrive on prostitution and rape—but rather to make his readers feel that social equality in France on any plane is a menace to the modern Anglo-Saxon world!

Of course Mr. Angell does not say this in so many words; however, every implication of his article points this way. The Negroes of Anglo-Saxon lands are uniting to fight intolerable aggressions; they are thinking black in the face of a white world. French Negroes, on the other hand, (at least the civilized and the cultured), are thinking *French* because they have been treated as men by Frenchmen. This to Mr. Angell's mind constitutes a grave danger and that danger is that the French policy of treating Negroes decently may in the end compel England and America to do the same and open parlors and brothels to black gentlemen and soldiers. This is what he calls the "Negro conquest of France", and this is what he fears with a perfect Fear!

HOMICIDES

THERE is a species of propaganda going on against the Negro which is so subtle that most people do not notice it. For instance, *The Spectator*, an insurance magazine periodical, records from year to year all homicides,—that is all persons killed in the United States by criminal violence. It notes that for every million of population in 31 cities there are 85 homicides and that the rate is increasing.

Then the statement, which is written by Frederick L. Hoffman, goes on to say (the italics are ours): *"Furthermore, it will be noted that the cities experiencing the highest rates are those having a large colored population."* And comparing North and South, he says that the homicide rate among the whites in the South "is but little higher than for the New England and Middle Atlantic States and below that for the West. *For the colored race the incidence is shown to be four times as frequent as among the whites in the South."*

Now what is the inference that any number of papers quoting this passage have made? It is that the Negro is a murderer and causes the great murder rate in the South. And yet as a matter of fact, what is the truth? The truth is that the Negro is MURDERED four times as fast as the whites and that the unfortunate preëminence of the South in murder is because there are so many black folk there to be killed.

In other words, a fact which is to the shame of the white race and pitiable for the colored race, is, we had almost said, deliberately so stated that nine people out of ten in the United States have twisted the facts to the discredit of the black South.

THE CRISIS itself was so puzzled at the figures that it wrote Mr. Hoffman to be certain, and received from him a letter confirming the fact: "The term homicide as used in my article . . . is strictly limited to deaths from homicide." He also adds: "I have always stood clearly upon the position that it was immaterial whether the persons killed were white or colored. The Negro's life economically as well as socially is as valuable and as worthy as that of a white man." All of which sounds very well and yet

Mr. Hoffman has allowed an ambiguous statement to go out under his signature, and he may still be counted as he was when he published that vicious book "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro",—as one of the most persistent and subtle enemies of the Negro race.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL FOUNDATION

OUR attention has been called in two separate instances to the Woman's National Foundation of Washington, D. C. It is an imposing organization. It calls itself:

"A nationwide movement to unify the woman power of the country along civic, welfare and patriotic lines. . . .

"Great enthusiasm for the movement is reported from all sections of the country. Although the Foundation is less than six months old it has secured thousands of members, acquired a million dollar national site in Washington, and is endorsed and backed by leading financiers, statesmen, educators and officials.

"The board of governors of the Foundation includes such nationally known women as Mrs. George Barnett, wife of a major general of the U. S. Marine Corps; Mrs. Stephen B. Elkins, widow of former Senator Underwood of Alabama; Mrs. Charles B. Howry, wife of Judge Howry of the U. S. Court of Claims; Miss Janet Richards, the noted woman lecturer; Mrs. John Hays Hammond, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. James McDonald, Mrs. Henry R. Rea of Pittsburgh; Mrs. Sidney Ballou, Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, the celebrated pageant writer; Mrs. James Carroll Frazier, head of the Comforts Committee of the Navy League, Mrs. Henry D. Flood, wife of Representative Flood of Virginia, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, national chairman of the League of Women Voters."

This organization has high ideals. Its prospectus issued November 15, 1921, says:

"It is the aim of the Foundation to educate its members in citizenship and to teach the same rights and responsibilities of women so that they may thoroughly understand the duties they owe to their country.

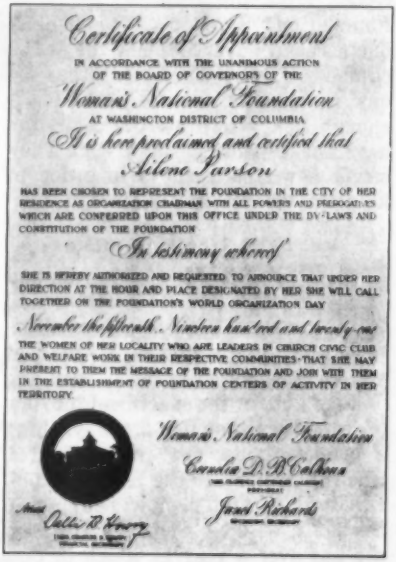
"Organized womanhood is now recognized to be the greatest dynamic force for good in the world today. If women are united, nothing is now outside of their power."

It would have been ordinary honesty for this organization to have said that they wished to confine their membership to white women, that all their great and high aims were to be held strictly within the barriers of race. But they did not do this,—they did not dare do it. They were too cowardly to let the world know what they really believed, and thereby they have made to our knowledge two horrible mistakes.

In the first place, they appointed October 21, 1921, Mrs. Ailene Parson of Keystone, W. Va., by unanimous action to their board of governors as organization chairman for her city and its environs. They said:

"You have been selected for this official position of the Foundation from a number of nominations made by members of the Board of Governors of the Foundation, by United States Senators and Representatives in Congress from your State, as well as by nationally prominent club women, and other reliable sources who are cognizant of your standing and ability."

Mrs. Parson went to work, organized her units and sent in her units' checks, whereupon December 12, 1921, she received from Mrs. Charles



Certificate of Appointment

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNANIMOUS ACTION OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE

Woman's National Foundation

AT WASHINGTON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

It is hereproclaimed and certified that

Ailene Parson

HAS BEEN CHOSEN TO REPRESENT THE FOUNDATION IN THE CITY OF HER RESIDENCE AS ORGANIZATION CHAIRMAN WITH ALL POWERS AND PREROGATIVES WHICH ARE CONFERRED UPON THIS OFFICE UNDER THE BY-LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE FOUNDATION

In testimony whereof

SHE IS HEREBY AUTHORIZED AND REQUESTED TO ANNOUNCE THAT UNDER HER DIRECTION AT THE HOUR AND PLACE DESIGNATED BY HER SHE WILL CALL TOGETHER ON THE FOUNDATION'S WORLD ORGANIZATION DAY

November the fifteenth, Nineteen hundred and twenty-one

THE WOMEN OF HER LOCALITY WHO ARE LEADERS IN CHURCH CIVIC CLUB AND WELFARE WORK IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES-THAT SHE MAY PRESENT TO THEM THE MESSAGE OF THE FOUNDATION AND JOIN WITH THEM IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOUNDATION CENTERS OF ACTIVITY IN HER TERRITORY.

Woman's National Foundation

Cornelia D. W. Calhoun

Janet Richards

Attest Ollie M. Howry

B. Howry, financial secretary, a letter which stated:

"We appreciate your interest in so promptly forming a unit to carry on our work in your locality, but are sorry to say that we cannot under our by-laws accept your membership as this organization is made up entirely of Caucasians.

"We regret very much that through inadvertence this situation was not brought to your attention."

The same thing happened in Washington. A prominent colored artist, whose color is not entirely visible, was importuned by letter to join the Foundation. Assuming that they must know that she had a great-grandfather who was a Negro, she went to one of their meetings. She was welcomed effusively, she was importuned to say how she could help and what she could do. She told them frankly that as a Negro she was interested in Negro sculpture. Her hostess gasped and fluttered and finally with maladroit boorishness told her that Negroes were not admitted to this organization.

What does this all mean? That we are losing something by being excluded from the Woman's National Foundation? Certainly not! This is but a cheap advertisement for social climbers. But it does mean that today movements that are f o o l i s h enough to try to draw the color line have not the courage to say so. They sneak down back alleys in order to keep the Negro "in his place."

MR. DYER TO MR. JOHNSON

I WISH to congratulate you, and through you, the officers and members of your organization, for the splendid assistance that you have rendered to me in carrying on the fight for the enactment into law of legislation that will make lynching a crime against the United States. The Bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now pending in the United States Senate. The Senate has over a year in which to take action upon the Bill that passed the House. I feel sure that the United States Senate will promptly and favorably consider this very important legislation. In my opinion, the Congress has not undertaken more important legislation for a long time, than the enactment into law of this bill. It is to safeguard life from mobs.

The greatest blot upon the otherwise proud record of the United States of America is the crime of lynching, that has been so prevalent in so many portions of this country for the last 35 to 40 years. Simple justice and our obligations as a Nation to the people under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States demands that we act with promptness. We have already delayed this matter too long, resulting in the sacrificing of lives of many innocent people. We must end this horrible crime, and this legislation when enacted into law will do it. My best efforts in that direction will be continued till this legislation is put upon the statute books and enforced to the letter.

I trust that you, your organization, and all friends of this legislation will continue the campaign till same is enacted into the law of the land. We are sure to succeed if we work together and in earnest.

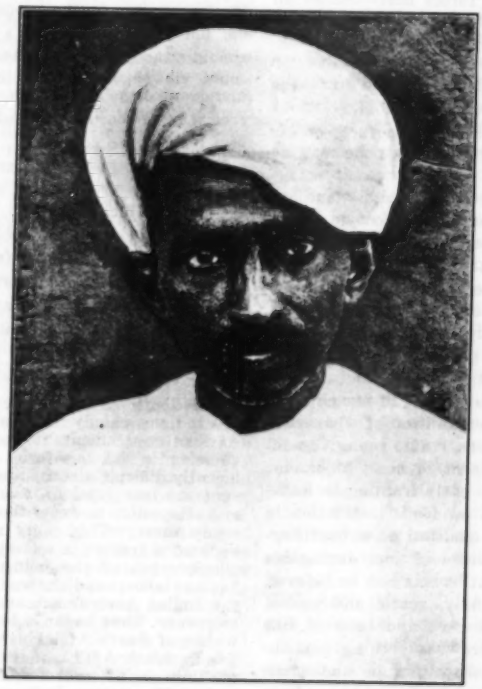
The people of the United States and the press of the whole country are for this legislation. There can be and there must be no failure.

FRED PROCTOR-FRAUD

COMPLAINTS are coming to us from persons who paid money for CRISIS subscriptions to one Fred Proctor. He is not an agent for The CRISIS. If he comes to your community, please escort him to the police. The CRISIS does not employ traveling agents in any capacity.

GANDHI AND INDIA

INDIA has been called a land of saints, the home of religions, and, living up to her well earned reputation, she produces in our own time a man who from sheer impeccability of character, and extraordinary personality, and from loftiness and originality of doctrine and ideas, takes rank at once among the great men of the world whose mark is high enough to make for them a permanent niche in the repository of the benefactors of mankind.



MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

No man who is in the least interested in the throbbing mass of peoples of the earth can fail to take notice of this exceptional soul called forth by a great need and destined to make a significant contribution to the very human effort which man is putting forth to get himself out of the encircling gloom into the promised land. I say "destined", but that is to detract from the glory which already enshrines Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. I should speak in the present instead of the future tense, for the man about whom I write, not only will be but is. Indeed he is so vital a factor that he is called at once the most dangerous yet the most beloved man in India today.

When Lord Reading, the newly appointed viceroy of India, reached that country, one of his first acts was a long heart to heart talk with Mr. Gandhi. Writing in the London *Nation*, a member of parliament says:

"The saint, or Mahatma (Gandhi) has India at his feet. The 'intellegentsia' differ from him sometimes in private, rarely in public; property differs from him and trembles; the government—any government differs from him and thinks it is best to—wait."

To ask who this man Gandhi is, is to ask more than one can properly answer. To many of his Indian countrymen he is Mahatma, or saint, a human being in touch with the divine, to bring relief to the suffering, food to the hungry, and satisfaction to the other physical wants of India; to enthusiastic and idealistic students and members of the educated class, and to many leaders in political life he is the embodiment of a great challenge, which, if answered, must lead out into the possession of not only that which the body needs and must have, but into that indefinable realm of the mind and spirit, the imponderable kingdom of the soul—a possession which may sound very theoretical and impractic-

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able, yet one which is the very stuff that life, and living, human well being, and achievement are made of.

Mr. Ben Spoor of the British Labor Party, who went to India to represent that organization at the Indian National Congress, writes:

"The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East has given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force, the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggle of our day—are striving for the mastery."

A learned man of India writes that no one can understand Mr. Gandhi's crusade who does not know Mr. Gandhi. Let us dispose briefly of the common facts of his life and then undertake to see the man as he is.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born of an old Bania family, resident in Kathiawar, India, October 2, 1869. Politics appears to be the heritage of his fathers. Through business enterprise they had accumulated some wealth. His mother, an orthodox Hindu lady, rigidly observing religious obligations, performing in the highest manner her duties as wife and mother, could be expected to demand of her children the most desirable qualities of character. From the records one reads, young Gandhi was no disappointment to her. Mohandas Gandhi received his early training in Kathiawar and his final academic instruction in London, where he qualified as a barrister-at-law. It is reported of him during his stay in London, that he was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse. He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than for law. Gradually his asceticism began to show itself. He gave away all his money to good causes, except the most meagre allowance. He took vows of poverty. He gradually ceased a large part of his practice at law because his religion forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence.

The beginning of Mr. Gandhi's larger life was in South Africa, whither he had been induced to go in connection with an Indian legal case of some difficulty. It is worth while to relate his first experience after disembarking at the port of Durban in Natal. Brought up in the British tradition of the equality of all British subjects, an honored guest in the capital of the Empire, he found that in the colony of Natal he was regarded as an outcast. When he applied for admission as an advocate of the supreme court of Natal, he was opposed by the law society on the ground that the law did not contemplate that a colored person should practice. Fortunately, the supreme court viewed the matter in another light and granted the application, but Mr. Gandhi received sudden warning of what awaited him in years to come.

If this was the test of fire through which a great man was to pass, it was certainly not a fire which consumed, but rather one which kindled all the nobler qualities of his soul, and sent him forth purged of whatever dross he may have had—Mahatma Gandhi, both feared and loved. Professor Gilbert Murray, writing in the *Hibbert Journal*, relates the significant part of Mr. Gandhi's South African experience:

"In South Africa, there are some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal, and the South African government, feeling that the color question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians and if possible to expel those who were already there. This could not be done. It violated a treaty; it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labor; and it was objected to by the Indian government and the home government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie class. Indians were specially taxed; were made to register in a degrading way; their thumb prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If, owing to the scruples of the government, the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead; he proved his right to plead; he won his case against the

Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law and returned to India.

"Gandhi came again in 1895. He was amost mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counsellor to his people; how he began a settlement in the country outside Durban where the workers should live directly on the land and be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the government in order to press his claim the harder. Mr. Gandhi, when the government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organized an Indian Red Cross Unit. There arose a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it; it served throughout the war, and was mentioned in dispatches and thanked publicly for its skillful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg, and Mr. Gandhi had a private hospital opened before the government had begun to act. In 1906 there was a native rebellion in Natal. Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher bearers whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the governor of Natal and shortly afterward thrown in jail in Johannesburg.

"Lastly, in 1913, when he was being repeatedly thrown into prison among prisoners of the lowest class and his followers in jail were to the number of 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and in Natal, there occurred the sudden and dangerous strike which endangered for a time the very existence of the organized society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view, the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead, he gave orders for his people to resume work until the government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, and what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and the government of India. An imperial commission reported in his favor on most of the points at issue and an act was passed entitled the Indian Relief Act."

Manifestly, a man of such lofty ideals, so perfectly displayed in practice is bound to exert no small influence in a country like India at this period of her life. In order to understand the man himself in relation to his country it is perhaps necessary to observe a few facts of the political history of India.

India was the contemporary of great Egypt, ancient Assyria and Persia, but unlike her contemporaries of antiquity, she lives. They are dead. Through a continuous period running back to most archaic times, she has come with her literature, her religions, her customs—in short—with all that makes her justly proud today. One could go on and state what has become the classic theme of the demands of contemporary India. We cannot consider here the interesting facts of her kingdoms and empires, her wars and warriors, of which the Mahabharata so gloriously sings; nor of the coming of Islam and the great empires of the Moguls. It is certainly not possible to write here of Indian society—of caste; of poverty widespread and dazzling wealth; of the depth of illiteracy which grips the country octopus-like and a culture and education as noted for their literary and scholarly achievements as for their far reach back into the haze of unhistorical days; of marriage, home, and the family.

India has for centuries been a land much desired by Europe. Every school boy remembers that it was this land that Columbus sought in 1492. The immense wealth of that country as it lured on the bold discoverer of America, in the same way was the object of expeditions of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Austrians and Germans. The tragic results of their seeking, both to themselves and to India, form interesting yet harrowing reading. Intrigue, murder, robbery—wholesale pillage—all for the wealth of the Indies!

In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to what became known later as the East India Company. This company established in India trading-posts and settlements and built forts to protect its ports and settlements. It sent out governors and a governor-general and when it applied at London for charters and courts of justice, it got charters and courts of justice; then follows the sordid yet romantic periods of Warren Hastings, Lord Clive and others (see Macaulay and Burke), until the East India Company ceased to exist in the Sepoy War of 1857 and the British crown assumed the sovereignty of this country and its mil-

lions in 1858. Upon and out of this more than half-century of foreign rule, a rule of which one reads great good and much evil, comes what is today termed "Indian unrest", and upon the very crest of this wave Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi occupies his position.

These 315,000,000 people, largely poor and illiterate, though with a highly cultured and educated leadership, what is it they want and in what is it that Gandhi is for many of them the spokesman? In the past the leaders have with their might protested against a bureaucratic government vested in a foreign civil service. Indian national gatherings of the past have recommended again and again that "measures be taken by government to organize and develop Indian industries", and also "that invidious distinctions here and abroad between his Majesty's Indian and other subjects be removed by redeeming pledges of provincial autonomy and recognizing India as a component part of a federated empire. At the December meeting of the National Liberal Federation the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri moved that in the opinion of the Federation, the inauguration of the new régime conferring a measure of self-government on the people of India must be signalized by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of an individual, and urged in particular that provisions in the criminal law of India conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date."

One could mention an almost unending list of complaints, demands, memorials and resolutions. Each year it appears the leaders of the people have become more bold and have given increased expression to their larger and national aspiration. A demand granted has only served to reveal their miserable weakness and the mighty strength of the power that granted it. Thus has a new state of mind come upon this country almost with the suddenness of the dawn of day but with the same surety of travel and background as that upon which dawn depends. Instead of a half loaf, the whole is desired. The same sort of patience is no longer advocated and a conditional loyalty to the British Empire is preached.

Without doubt the war primarily and other subsequent developments have given the immediate impetus to the rising tide of new and popular thought. But it is possible for almost every Indian to name specifically definite overt acts and administrative measures which led an erstwhile patient and philosophic people into a state which an unfriendly reporter characterizes as "an atmosphere surcharged with heat and an horizon obscured by smoke screens of racial passion". Of the overt acts, the one which touched the very quick of the people's heart, was the Amritsar massacre whereby several hundred Indian men, women and children were shot dead under the order of a British general and hundreds of others were left wounded. And this because these unarmed people refused to obey the order of the British general to disperse!

In the second place, the Moslems of India are dissatisfied over the turn events have taken during the past three years which, they claim, humiliate Islam and completely subjugates the Mohammedan world to the Christian. Their deepest feelings are stirred over what is to them a studied insult to their religion. The very heart of India's racial self-respect is stirred. But behind these two questions just referred to the *New Republic* states: "There is a greater and all embracing one, that of national wrong and shame of which every Indian is sensitive."

Upon a governmental report on the Amritsar massacre Mr. Gandhi writes: "The condonation of the Punjab atrocities has completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the government and the nation supporting it." Writing on "the situation and the remedy", Mr. G. A. Natesan, an Indian, finishes with the remark, "The people of India have lost faith in British justice".

Thus begins the newer attitude of Indian leaders towards Britain! New terms, or rather old terms with new meanings are now the order of the day. *Swaraj*, noncoöperation, non-violence, and Gandhism, are the terms which have turned the eyes of the world upon the man responsible for their use, and have won for him the devoted following of great masses of his own people.

At the 35th session of the Indian National Congress, held at Nagpur, India, in December, 1920, Mr. Gandhi moved in the open Congress: "That the object of this

THE NON-COOPERATIVE CONGRESS

Congress is the attainment of *Swaraj* by all legitimate and peaceful ends". The motion was opposed, but it was carried with a large majority and by its passage it made Mr. Gandhi the most powerful man in the Congress. Mr. Gandhi explains what is meant by *Swaraj*, or home rule or national rule as follows:

"*Swaraj* means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no *Swaraj* without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen. Today we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for our armed peace between Hindus and Mussulmans for our education, and for the supply of our daily wants. The Rajahs are dependent upon the British for their power, and the millionaires for their millions. The British know our helplessness * * * to get *Swaraj* then is to get rid of our helplessness."

But how is this great miracle to be wrought in India? Non-coöperation is the war-cry of Mr. Gandhi's non-violent crusade. It is his first and most powerful weapon. This is the general scheme of the principle of non-coöperation as proposed by the Indian National Congress:

1. Giving up of all British titles and honorary offices
2. Boycott of all official functions
3. Withdrawal of all students from all government owned or aided schools, and the establishment of Indian National schools
4. Boycott of British courts by Indian lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private courts of arbitration
5. Refusal of Indians to be candidates for the new assemblies and the total abstinence from all voting
6. Boycott of English-made goods.

In commenting on the effectiveness of non-coöperation in Mr. Gandhi's program, Mr. B. K. Roy, a Hindu, writes in the *Independent*:

"Mr. Gandhi has fired the imaginations of the people, and the non-coöperation movement is meeting with tremendous success. Many titleholders like Rabindranath Tagore have given up their titles. Women like Sarajina Neidee and Sarala Devi have given back their medals of honor for war-service, thousands of students have left British colleges and national institutions are being established."

The second outstanding factor in Mr. Gandhi's program is the idea and practice of non-violence or passive resistance. Like the principle of non-coöperation, it kills without striking its adversary. More than that, it disarms its enemies.

Behold a man who has ancient and great India at his feet; whom a powerful government is afraid to arrest; who causes visiting members of royalty to be snubbed; who threatens as a last resort to lead his people in an anti-tax paying crusade, thus striking at the very root of government; a man who professes to love his enemies and who refuses to take advantage of or embarrass government in a crisis!

NO END OF BOOKS

JESSIE FAUSET

The Wings of Oppression. By Leslie Pinckney Hill. The Stratford Company, Boston.

Batouala. By René Maran. Albin Michel Publisher, Paris.

Unsung Heroes. By Elizabeth Ross Haynes. DuBois and Dill Publishers, New York.

History of Liberia. By Thomas H. B. Walker. The Cornhill Publishing Company, Boston.

Ringworm. By John P. Turner, M.D., F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia.

The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919. By Elias Heifetz. J.U.D. Thomas Seltzer Publisher, New York.

The History of the Negro Church. By Carter Godwin Woodson. The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C.

Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry. By Chaplain T. G. Steward. A. M. E. Book Concern, Philadelphia.

THOSE of us who read Mr. Hill's "Armageddon" a few years ago doubtless expected something in a "higher mood" than what we find in his present volume. For his verse, while very sweet and musical, fails with but few exceptions to reach great heights. Yet on the other hand an attraction persists and finally outweighs the sense of disappointment for these poems are a manifestation of the reaction which so many of us feel, but cannot express, to beauty, to truth, to the presence of imponderable things. So we are grateful to Mr. Hill for his sensitiveness of spirit and his happy feeling for words which makes the expression possible. He makes one think of Wordsworth at his best and worst. What one does like one likes immensely and wonders how he found just the words to say it. And what one does not like, one does not like at all. In the "Lines Written In The Alps Above Chamounix", Mr. Hill has caught the very essence of the feeling which comes to one confronted by such a spectacle of nature. Life beyond these natural boundaries may seethe and roar. But here is rest. As an interpreter of the emotions aroused by certain stimuli either of the times or of environments Mr. Hill excels. It is only when he writes in the vein of the Sunday-school teacher that one becomes impatient and wishes he would cease to dwarf and restrain his fine and decidedly classical gift.

"Batouala" is really what its sub-title indicates, a story of actual Negro life (*véritable roman nègre*) and because it is it differs absolutely from any concept which we in this Western World have of life. In fact it is extremely probable that this description of Negro existence differs from its manifestation in other parts of Africa. For Maran is writing of the people of the equatorial regions whose customs differ from those of the people of the coast towns. Batouala is an African chief and the novel is an account of his life, his love and his death. The familiar romantic situation is there, the husband Batouala, the wife (one of nine), Yassiguindji, and the favored lover Bissibingui. But the telling and the setting are anything but familiar. René Maran, though a native of Guadaloupe, has lived with these people many years and he tells with a wealth of detail and great plainness what he has seen. His methods are realistic and objective and the result is that we see the drowsy African village, its awful poverty, its lassitude, its domestic life as typified by the "mokoundji" (chief) and his family, its hunting expeditions, its calls on the tom-tom. And last, but not least, the orgies of the native feasts and dances. These last shock us; from our point of view they are too raw, too unvarnished. Yet Maran is never offensive, never suggestive. The genius of the French language takes care of that. The color problem is only indirectly indicated in the story proper, but the preface contains a white-hot indictment against "civilization, the pride of Europeans but the slaughter-house of innocents * * * not a torch, but a conflagration which consumes everything it touches."

This is really a great novel. It is artistic, overwhelming in its almost cinema-like sharpness of picturization. And there lies its strength. No propaganda, no preach-

ments, just an actual portrayal of life from the moment when Batouala awakes, yawning, scratching himself, meditating on the relative values of going back to sleep and getting up, to the moment when in the agony caused by his noisome, festering wound he rises in his death jealousy and confronts the lovers, aghast, shrinking, almost plastering themselves against the wall.

No one can doubt the value of "Unsung Heroes". It is just the sort of book we need to offset the tendency of American schools to impress upon children of both races that the only heroes in the world have been white heroes. For "Unsung Heroes" tells the story of those black men, Douglass and Attucks, Henson and Washington, and others, who did their part in adding to the glory of American History. It is a book that ought to be in every home and a supplementary text-book at least in every school. The influence of the printed word is so great that these stories gain greater authenticity by the mere placing of them between the covers of a volume, instead of leaving them as we have too long in the form of anecdotes and personal recollections to be handed down from father to son. It is because of this influence that we wish Mrs. Haynes had looked more carefully to her diction and to the rounding of her periods. Noble subjects are still more enhanced by noble treatment. However, the stories are there to fulfill the need of our children and that is the main thing. A pleasing and novel feature of the book is its illustrations which also are the work of colored artists, Laura Wheeler, Hilda Wilkinson, Carlton Thorpe and Marcellus Hawkins.

The "History of Liberia" might also be called a "History of Slavery", for almost a third of the book is devoted to a study of that institution. For the rest it is a work of careful though uninspired research and the student of Africa who wishes to clear up his ideas about the Dark Continent beginning with Liberia would do well to put in two or three hours reading Mr. Walker's effort. He would learn that the plant and animal life of the little republic are different for some strange reason from the other countries of West Africa, that the bulk of the population consists of uncivilized natives constantly seeping in from the hinterland and yet that the governing class is composed of some 12,000 American-Liberians. The country is rich in practically untapped supplies of gold, garnets, mica and sapphires. The Kru and Vai tribes have played a large part in the development of Liberia, and France and England have done their share toward its retardation. Most of us will agree with the author's desire that missionaries should no longer try to thrust the customs of the white man upon the natives. We should like to see Liberia while developing creeds and customs which will enable her to cope with foreign methods, stick to her own system of dress and ethics and traditions.

Dr. Turner's little book is especially valuable to colored people because the ringworm, it has been proved, works more ravages among Negroes than among whites. All phases of this disease are traced, its history given, its manifestations differentiated, a diagnosis and a definite remedy presented. Already a bad epidemic of ringworm in one of the Philadelphia public schools has been wiped out by Dr. Turner's efforts. The book has the endorsement of Walter S. Cornell, M.D., Director of Medical Inspection in the public schools of Philadelphia.

Dr. Heifetz's chronicle adds another chapter to the history of prejudice. In 182 pages he gives an account of the cruellest and bloodiest butcheries of human beings that the world can ever have known. The pogroms of the eighties of the 19th century were different from those of more recent times. They were instituted under the czaristic régime to divert the attention of the dissatisfied masses from social and political abuses, but they were aimed at the destruction of the possessions of the Jews rather than at their lives. Women were violated, "men were beaten (but not to death)", and property was wantonly and completely destroyed. In the later pogroms from 1903 on, cold-blooded murder was introduced reaching its culmination in 1919 in a total of 30,500 people killed in the Ukraine alone. All this bloodshed and madness arose from the conviction real or pretended of Denikin and his associates in the Ukraine that the Soviet power was a

Jewish power and that "the armed fight against the Soviet power must be supported and strengthened by Jewish pogroms." The terrible statements of the text of this book are supported by an appendix containing signed reports of participants and spectators. The whole volume is a bloodstained commentary on latter-day civilization.

With his usual scholarly thoroughness Dr. Woodson has traced for us the history of the church from its slightest manifestations in Latin America to the form in which we know it today. It makes an attractive and interesting narrative much more readable than most of its author's former works, and by the same token not as good a text book, but there can be no question as to its authenticity and Dr. Woodson's complete acquaintance with his subject. The Anglicans and Quakers were the first to take up the work of proselyting Negroes. But the ritual of the one and the supreme simplicity of the other alike baffled the mentality of the ordinary 17th century Negro, who turned with better results to the Methodist and Baptist sects and in these camps he has practically remained ever since. Dr. Woodson looks on the latter-day Negro Church as a social institution whose rôle is "to keep the fire burning on the altar until the day when men again become reverent". The loss of interest in the church which the white world has experienced is fittingly stressed as well as the iniquitous part played by Thomas Jesse Jones as the tool of capitalists to keep the colored Americans out of Africa. The book contains a careful index and several instructive and interesting foot-notes and is profusely illustrated.

The personal note running through Chaplain Steward's narrative frees it from the usual dry-as-dust quality of a history. His fifty years in the ministry have been spent in visiting and meeting many places and people and his book is an account of all he has seen and done. Secular affairs are interwoven with his pulpit adventures. He has seen the Civil War and the Reconstruction, encounters between freedom and ex-slave holders, as well as the development of the A. M. E. Church. Out of his copious notes he gives us selections from sermons and addresses and little pictures of his relationships with men well known to those familiar with outstanding figures in Negro history. His book is not at any time historical in the sense of Dr. Woodson's book. It is too personal for that. Thus the latter third of the narrative is almost entirely confined to the account of his life in the army and his travels abroad. But it often furnishes a good commentary for nearly three-quarters of a century on the happenings among colored people in the United States.

POEMS

LANGSTON HUGHES

QUESTION

WHEN the old junk man Death
Comes to gather up our bodies
And toss them into the sack of oblivion,
I wonder if he will find
The corpse of a white multi-millionaire
Worth more pennies of eternity,
Than the black torso of
A Negro cotton-picker?

THE NEW MOON

THERE'S a new, young moon riding the hills tonight;

There's a sprightly, young moon exploring the clouds;

There's a half-shy, young moon veiling her face like a virgin,
Waiting for her lover.

MEXICAN MARKET WOMAN

THIS ancient hag
Who sits upon the ground
Selling her scanty wares
Day in, day round,
Has known high wind-swept mountains;
And the sun has made
Her skin so brown.

National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of · Colored · People.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT

(The full report is in press)

W. G. SIMMONS, "Imperial Wizard" of the Ku Klux Klan, has called the N. A. A. C. P. the chief opponent of the Klan. At the trial of John Williams, accused of murdering Negro peons, in Jasper County, Ga., a special challenge was made of the talesmen to see if they were members of the N. A. A. C. P. or if voluntary counsel in the case had received any part of their pay from our Association. Such strains indicate our growing influence.

During the last year our chief work has been to influence the administration in our behalf at Washington, to push the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, to continue legal defense of the Arkansas peons and numbers of other victims, to investigate race riots, to investigate peonage, to take up cases of discrimination, to fight the Ku Klux Klan, to promote the Second Pan-African Congress, to hold the usual Annual Conference, and to forward our publicity work, including the publication of THE CRISIS.

The membership and contributions received by the N. A. A. C. P. during the last four years are as follows:

1918—Memberships		$24,372.71
	Contributions	5,704.40
		30,077.11
1919—Memberships		39,576.33
	Contributions	8,398.93
		47,975.26
1920—Memberships		27,945.99
	Contributions	15,388.00
		43,333.99
1921—Memberships		42,684.40
	Contributions	18,523.97
		$61,208.37

IN WASHINGTON ON April 4, the secretary conferred at the White House with President Harding. He asked the President to include a recommendation for action against lynching in his annual message, to make an investigation of peonage, to investigate disfranchisement in the South, to appoint a national Interracial Committee, to investigate the situation in Haiti, to appoint colored assistant secretaries in the Departments of Labor and Agriculture, and to end race segregation in the Executive Department.

Of these recommendations the President took note as follows: He said in his annual message that Congress ought "to wipe out the stain of barbaric lynching from the banner of a free and orderly representative democracy."

Later the secretary headed a delegation of 30 leading colored men and women who presented a petition to the President for the pardon of the soldiers of the 24th Infantry. This petition was signed by 50,000 persons.

LYNCHING THE chief work of the year has been our endeavor to push the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. This bill was introduced in the 67th Congress by Representative L. C. Dyer of Missouri, April 11, 1921. On July 20, a hearing was held before the Committee on the Judiciary. On October 20 the bill was favorably reported by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Untoward efforts to amend the bill were warded off and the favorable opinion of the Attorney-General was secured. After long effort and repeated interviews with leading members of Congress a special rule on the bill was decided upon. This special rule came up for action Monday, December 19, and after considerable difficulty, on account of a filibuster by the Southern members, the rule was adopted. On December 20 the House went into the Committee as a whole and the bill was read. On Wednesday, January 4, after the recess, by a vote of 184 to 86 the Anti-Lynching Bill was taken up again. On Tuesday, January 10, it was again debated. A great victory was won on January 27 when the House passed the bill by a vote of 230 to 119.

The Association has kept careful records of all lynchings. It investigated the burning of Henry Lowry in Arkansas and published the results; it urged the Governor of South Carolina to bring lynchers to trial and to proceed against them under the State Constitution. As a result of this the widow of Joe Stewart who was hanged in April, 1920, has been given a verdict of $2,000 against the county.

Through the activities of the Association, bills against lynching have been passed in West Virginia and Minnesota.

PEONAGE SINCE October, 1919, the Association has been defending the 12 men sentenced to death and the 67 others sentenced to prison terms in connection with the so-called "massacre" in Phillips County, Ark. These men have repeatedly been saved from execution and the cases of 6 of them have finally been brought to the Supreme Court of the United States by appeal on an assignment of errors. The other six are to be tried again in Lee County, Ark., at the Spring term of that court. To date the Association has expended $11,249.39 and is obligated to pay $2,500 more, besides the cost of litigation in the Supreme Court.

With regard to peonage, the Association has brought every case reported to it to the attention of the Department of Justice. In this and other ways it encouraged the Department to investigate peonage, and thus was brought to light the terrible John Williams murder case in Jasper County, Ga. Williams is now serving a life sentence in the Georgia State Penitentiary.

LEGAL DEFENSE THE Association has also been interested either through its main office or through its branches in the following cases: The defense of Maurice Mays in Tennessee; unjustly charged of murder. The defense of 13 men accused of rape in Duluth, Minn., after several colored men had been lynched. Of the 13, one was acquitted by jury, 5 were dismissed by order of the court, and 6 were dismissed at the request of the prosecuting attorney. One man was found guilty. His case was appealed and is now before the Supreme Court of Minnesota.

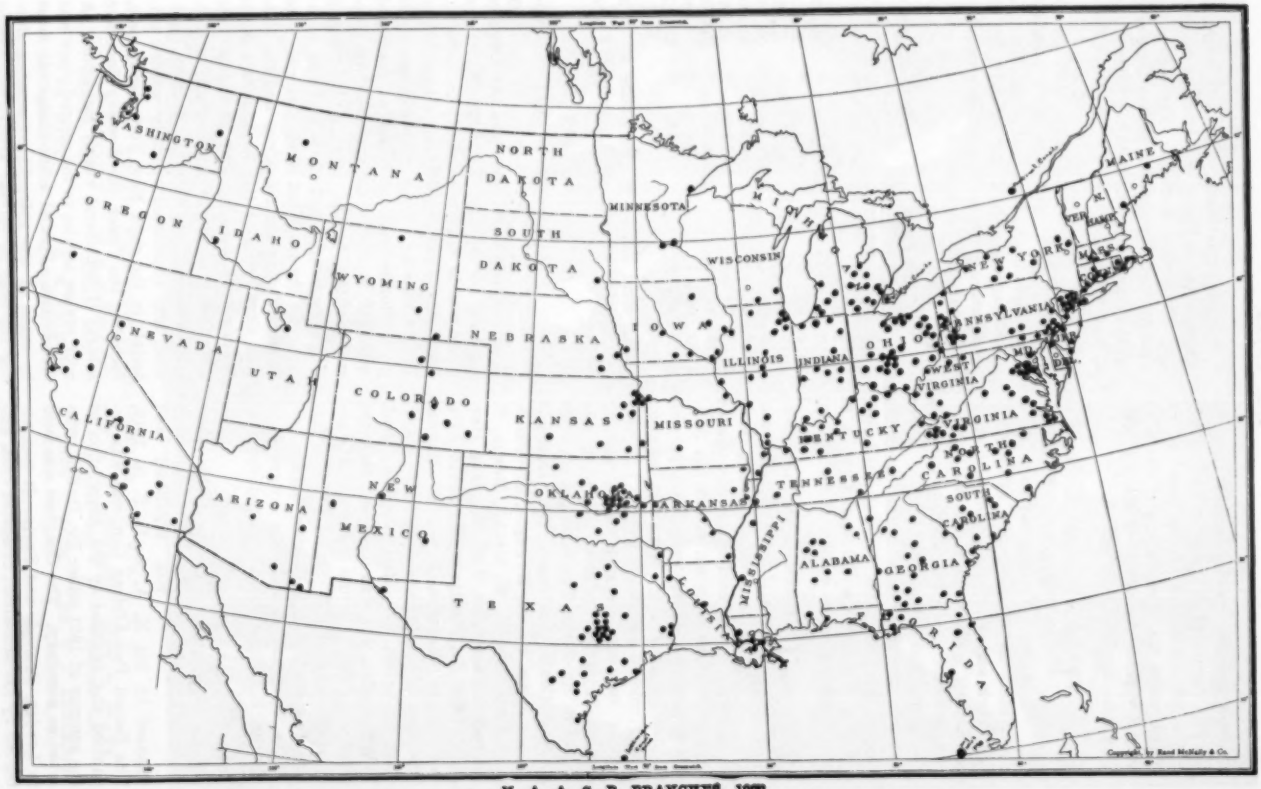
A special investigation of the Tulsa riot was made and the results widely published. Of the 88 indictments returned against alleged participants in the riots, 74 were against Negroes. Their cases have not yet come up. Meantime, we have established and administered a relief and defense fund of $3,506.24.

EXTRADITION DURING the year the Association has kept up its work of seeking to prevent the extradition of colored men from Northern to Southern States when there is danger of their being lynched. In pursuance of this policy, Thomas Ray has been saved from being extradited from Michigan to Georgia. He had killed a white man and alleged that it was in self-defense. Governor Sleeper allowed the extradition, but the Association kept the matter in the courts until the succeeding Governor, Groesbeck, refused the extradition. The extradition of Ed Knox from West Virginia to Tennessee has been prevented by the Charleston, W. Va. branch. The extradition of Will Whitfield from New York to North Carolina is being fought in the courts. The extradition of a white man, H. F. Smiddy, is being opposed. He went from Arkansas to Kansas and is willing to testify that the whites were the aggressors in the Arkansas riot. Charles P. Smithie has so far been prevented from being extradited from Minnesota to Tulsa, Okla., where he was indicted as one of the rioters. He is now free on bail. Successful efforts were made at Kansas City, Mo., to prevent the extradition of two colored boys, Wilbur and Castoria Styles, to Arkansas, on the claim that they owe a white man eighty dollars.

DISCRIMINATION THROUGH publicity furnished by the N. A. A. C. P. and upon request of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen, steps have been taken to stop the murder and maiming of colored trainmen and two white men have been arrested in Mississippi on a charge of intimidation.

In the Harlem Hospital, New York City, effort has been made by the Association in conjunction with other organizations and prominent persons to bring about better treatment of patients, and representation of Negroes on the Board.

KU KLUX KLAN THE Association during 1921 continued its fight against the Ku Klux Klan, mainly through the publication of facts which it



N. A. A. C. P. BRANCHES, 1922

collected and sent to members of Congress and also furnished to the New York *World*, and which were part of the proof of the exposé which the *World* made of the Klan. At last reports the affairs of the Ku Klux Klan were involved in litigation.

MOVING PICTURES

THE Association continues to fight slanderous moving pictures. We picketed "The Birth of a Nation" when it recently appeared in New York and distributed printed matter. Our pickets were arrested but we secured an opinion of the court which pronounced the distribution of printed matter under such circumstances legal. Our branches stopped this film in the State of California and helped induce the Board of Censors to refuse permission to exhibit it in Boston.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE twelfth annual conference of the Association was held in Detroit, Mich., June 26 to July 1. The conference was opened with an enormous protest parade on Sunday afternoon. There were 4,000 persons in line, representing every organization among colored people in Detroit. In this parade banners were borne protesting against injustices perpetrated upon the Negro in America. The principal speakers at the Conference were Mr. Moorfield Storey, Judge John I. W. Jayne, Dr. I. Garland Penn, Rev. E. W. Daniel, Messrs. B. Forrester Washington, John E. Clark, Harry H. Pace, Sol Plaatje of the South African Native Congress, James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Rev. R. L. Bradby; Prof. Robert Kerlin, who was dismissed from the Lexington, Va., Institute because of his appearance here, and M. Stenio Vincent, former President of the Haitian Senate.

The Spingarn Medal was awarded to Charles S. Gilpin for his contribution to Negro art.

SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

THE First Pan-African Congress was organized and financed by the N. A. A. C. P. in 1919. The Second Pan-African Congress was organized and financed by the Association in the summer of 1921 under Dr. DuBois, who acted as secretary. The Congress was held in London, Brussels and Paris. It was attended by 112 accredited delegates from different countries, and by 1,000 visitors.

Special conferences were held with the English Labor Party and with the Aborigines' Protection Society. The Committee also presented a petition to the League of Nations and suggestions to the International Labor Bureau.

THE CRISIS

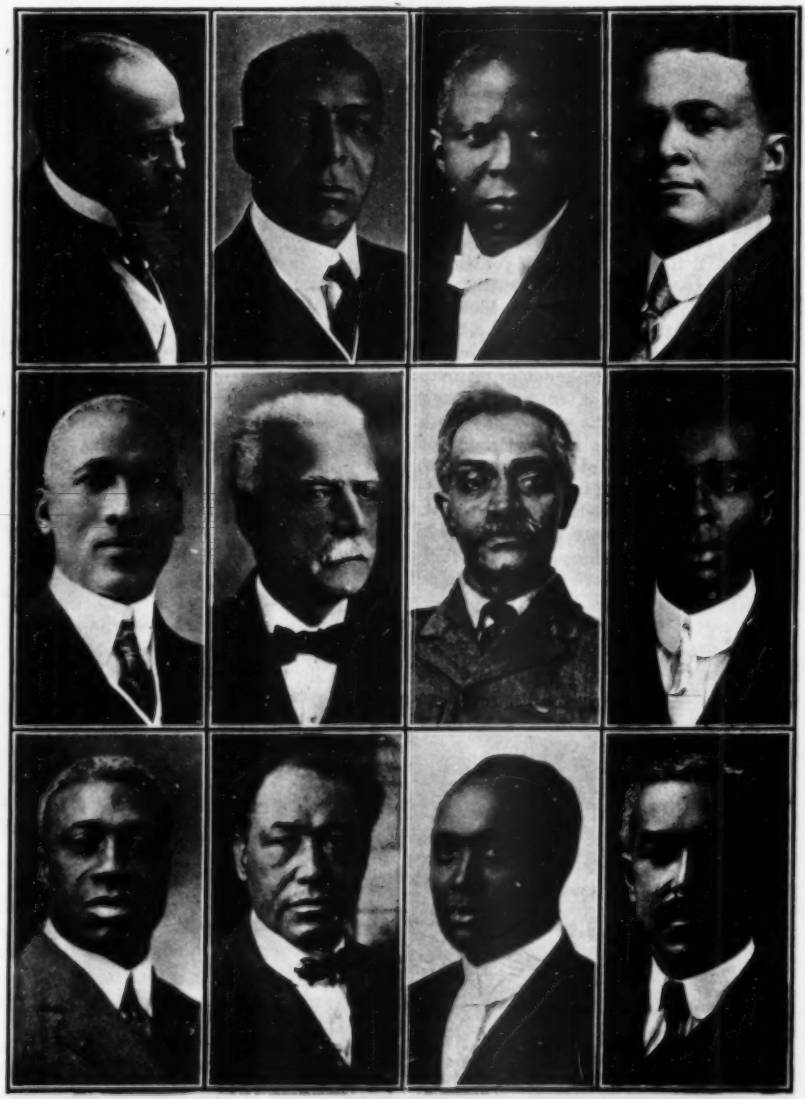
THE CRISIS during the years of its publication, since November, 1910, has distributed 5,259,899 copies. The figures showing its income, average net paid monthly circulation and total circulation follow:

	Circulation per month	Total Circulation	Income
1910	1,750 copies	3,500 copies	$375
1911	9,000 "	108,000 "	6,572
1912	22,000 "	264,000 "	13,217
1913	27,000 "	336,000 "	19,739
1914	31,450 "	377,400 "	22,124
1915	32,156 "	385,872 "	23,865
1916	37,625 "	451,500 "	28,193
1917	41,289 "	495,477 "	32,836
1918	75,187 "	902,250 "	57,367
1919	94,908 "	1,138,900 "	70,502
1920	62,417 "	749,000 "	77,706
1921	49,750 "	597,000 "	62,582

The total income of THE CRISIS since its inception, November, 1910, has been $414,979.75.

PUBLICITY

TWO main tasks were undertaken by the publicity department in 1921. One was the complete showing up of the Ku Klux Klan, the other was to work unceasingly to make the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill a national issue. In the regular course of work, some 139 press stories were sent out as compared with 131 in 1920. Of these, 30 were devoted either to the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill or to some aspect of the lynching problem. To the Ku Klux Klan, 8 stories were devoted and to the Tulsa riot and the Haitian situation, and the Association's membership drive, 7 each. The Association also gave first publicity to the dismissal of Robert T. Kerlin from Virginia Military Institute, and stimulated strongly worded editorials in the chief New York newspapers, including the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, and several of the liberal weekly magazines. A book review service to the colored press was also begun. Special acknowledgment must be made of the splendid coöperation during the year by colored editors throughout the country.



TWELVE PRESIDENTS OF BRANCHES OF THE N. A. A. C. P.

DR. C. E. BENTLEY Chicago, Ill.	W. H. McKINNEY Detroit, Mich.	REV. R. H. SINGLETON Atlanta, Ga.	JOHN D. DRAKE Oakland, Cal.
J. C. BANKS Los Angles, Cal.	A. H. GRIMKE Washington, D. C.	JOHN L. LOVE Kansas City, Mo.	DR. B. J. ANDERSON Birmingham, Ala.
GEORGE W. GROSS Denver, Colo.	I. N. FITCH Winston-Salem, N. C.	G. W. STEWART Newark, N. J.	ISADORE MARTIN Philadedlphia, Pa.

The Horizon

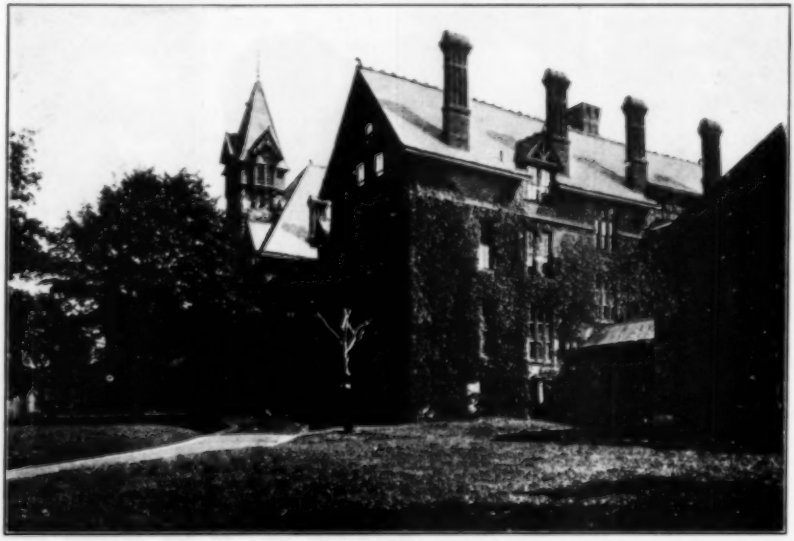
COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MERCY Hospital and School for Nurses was founded in 1907 in a small dwelling at 17th and Fitzwater Streets, Philadelphia. In 1919 the hospital acquired a beautiful location consisting of 6½ acres of ground with four large buildings at 50th Street and Woodland Avenue. The new Mercy Hospital has had a wonderful growth and is endorsed by the State officials. It has an organized staff of over 50 members, a training school of 37 nurses and 4 graduate nurses, and 85 beds. Dr. Henry M. Minton is superintendent and Fleming B. Tucker assistant superintendent. Dr. Henry L. Phillips, archdeacon of Pennsylvania, a well known colored episcopal clergyman, is president of the Board of Directors.

Nellie Harris, a colored nurse, has won admittance to the Post-Graduate course at the Woman's Hospital, New York City. When authorities at the hospital refused Miss Harris on account of her race, she brought suit under the Civil Rights Act, through Attorney N. B. Marshall. The case was settled out of court.

By the will of the late Mrs. Calista S. Mayhew, a white woman of New York, four colored schools in the South will receive legacies: Atlanta University, Tuskegee Institute, Hampton Institute and Snow Hill Normal School, Snow Hill, Alabama.

Robert G. Doggett is dead in New York City as the result of an operation for acute appendicitis. He was born in Calvert, Texas, 28 years ago and was educated at Howard University. For some time he was associated with the late J. Leubrie Hill, playwright and actor. A lover of the beautiful in literature and art and himself possessed of considerable dramatic ability, Mr.



MERCY HOSPITAL AND SCHOOL FOR NURSES, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DR. C. B. POWELL

Doggett had striven to bring larger opportunities to the Negro actor and the Negro musician.

Dr. Clyde B. Powell has been appointed to the X-ray staff of the Bellevue Hospital in New York City. Objections were made on account of his color but the superintendent of the hospital refused to consider the complaints.

James E. Harris of Brooklyn, N. Y., headed the list in an examination of 75 candidates for license as teacher of English in the New York City high schools. There were four who passed. Mr. Harris is at present a teacher of Civics at Manual Training High School, and of English at the evening Eastside High School.

At the senior recital of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, Gertrude McBrown, a colored literary interpreter, was chosen among 5 students to represent the institution. Her number "Mother and Daughter", by Dickens, was well received by a critical audience. Miss McBrown's platform deportment was perfect, the interpretations of characters and the picturing of scenes showed splendid artistry and skilful technique; the narrative links in the play displayed the lyrical quality of her voice, while the interpretations of characters revealed her remarkable dramatic ability.

The total native Negro population living in the United States on January 1, 1920, was 10,389,328, including 8,019 Negroes born in outlying possessions and 38,575 for whom the state of birth was not reported.

Wesley Barry, "Sunshine Sammy" Morrison, Frank Morrison and Gordon Griffith

STARS OF THE MOVIE WORLD

(Prize Picture, March, 1922) AT THE CONVENTION OF THE ALPHA

are "stars" of the movie world. They are now playing in Marshal Neilan's "Penrod", adapted from Booth Tarkington's book. "Sunshine Sammy" Morrison (second from top) recently signed a five year contract calling for $10,000 per year.

At the fourth annual convention of the *Alpha Kappa Alpha* Sorority, held in Indianapolis, there were more than 100 delegates and members in attendance, representing 18 chapters. Special features of the convention were the sending of a telegram to President Harding, urging the support of the administration in the passage of the Dyer anti-lynching bill, and an invitation to sororities and fraternities to meet with the *Alpha Kappa Alpha* Sorority in a Pan-Hellenic Conference during 1922, the date and place of meeting to be named later. Mrs. Wendell E. Green of Chicago, Ill., is National President; Miss L. Pearl Mitchell of Kalamazoo, Mich., is National Secretary.

MRS. W. E. GREEN MISS L. P. MITCHELL

Many have been the tributes paid to the memory of Frederick Douglass, but his recent post-humous election to *Omega* Chapter of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* Fraternity was perhaps one of the most touching and impressive ceremonies ever held in connection with the life of the great Douglass. Three hundred young college men, assembled in the 14th annual convention of their fraternity, at Baltimore, made a pilgrimage to the Douglass Home in Anacostia, D. C., on December 28, and there at the shrine of their great leader, stood with bared heads in solemn silence for one minute. The ceremonies were brief but effective. Mrs. L. A. Pendleton, on behalf of the committee in charge of the home, welcomed the pilgrims. Professor George W. Cook of Howard University delivered the oratorical address, which was followed by remarks from Dr. George C. Hall of Chicago, and Simeon S. Booker, president of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* Fraternity. Oscar C. Brown, of Howard University, presided; George B. Kelly, one of the founders of the fraternity, made the presentation of the shingle bearing witness of Douglass' membership in *Alpha Phi Alpha*. To aid with much-needed repairs and improvements to the home, the fraternity presented the Committee of Ladies with a check for $100.

The Federal Council of the Churches of

PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

(Article by Victor Daly)

Christ in America has appointed Dr. George E. Haynes to promote the work of its Commission on the Church and Race Relations.. Among purposes of this Commission are: "To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thorough-going support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years; to develop a public conscience which will secure in the Negro equitable provision for education, health, housing, recreation and all other aspects of community welfare."

Harry T. Burleigh offers a new art-song, "Adoration", and four Negro folk-songs, "Oh! Rock Me, Julie", "Scandalize My Name", "De Ha'nt" and "Don' Yo' Dream of Turnin' Back". *Musical America* says: "In putting forward these Negro folk-songs Mr. Burleigh has inaugurated another department of activity in his work as a creative musician. His success both with his art-songs and Negro spirituals has been noteworthy and we would predict that he will duplicate it with his settings of those songs of his race, the texts of which, unlike the spirituals, have no religious character; it is in this that they differ from them." G. Ricordi, New York, is the publisher.

Countee P. Cullen, a Negro senior in DeWitt Clinton High School, has become recognized as the premier poet of New York's high schools. His poem "I Have a Rendezvous With Life" was awarded first prize in a contest held under the auspices of the Empire Federation of Women's Clubs; another, "In Memory of Lincoln", won second prize in a contest conducted by the Sorosis Club. He has demonstrated his ability as a speaker by winning the Douglas Fairbanks oratorical contest, and as a journalist by working his way to the editorship of the *Clinton News*, the high school weekly. All this has earned for him the highest honor that Clinton can bestow—the leadership of the *Arista*. He is vice-president of the Senior Class, First Lieutenant of the Dotey Squad, a member of the Clinton Club and of the Inter-High School Poetry Society.

Mr. Summerson of Darby, Pa., sends us

THE HOME OF MR. SUMMERSON

Arthur A. Schomburg | Max Yergan | Edward F. Frazier | Charles C. Allison, Jr.

a picture of his comfortable little home. This is just one of many such homes.

Arthur A. Schomburg was born January 24, 1874. He was educated in public and private schools and at the Institute Ensenanza Populair, St. Thomas College, Porto Rico. He has held various offices in political, Masonic and historical organizations. He is employed by the Bankers' Trust Company of New York as head of the Mailing Department. Mr. Schomburg, however, possesses rare skill as a collector of books, prints, engravings, etc. His library, devoted exclusively to books pertaining to the Negro race and by persons of Negro descent, is one of the most remarkable libraries of its kind in existence. Many of the items are exceedingly rare. He is constantly receiving consignments of books from all parts of the world, hence many of his volumes are in foreign languages, such as Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch, German, Russian, Latin, Hebrew, Amharic, Arabic and various other tongues. His collection of books by the celebrated Ludolph who wrote the history of Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Abyssinia, together with the books of reference pertaining to that subject is of exceeding great value as a source of Negro history. The value of Mr. Schomburg's library is attested fully by the fact that his home in Brooklyn, N. Y., has become the Mecca for scholars from all parts of the United States and many have come from abroad to do research work therein. Mr. Schomburg has immortalized himself in the great zeal with which he has applied himself to the task of preserving the evidences of Negro culture in all ages.

After considerable hesitancy and long correspondence, Max Yergan has been allowed to depart for South Africa to begin Y. M. C. A. work among the natives. This is probably an epoch-making step and beginning of a new effort on the part of American Negroes to serve their African brothers. It has been decided that association work in Africa is in the future to be done by Negro Americans and supported by the colored Y. M. C. A.'s.

Mr. Yergan was born July 19, 1892, in Raleigh, N. C., where he attended the grade and high schools and was graduated from Shaw University in 1914 with honors. In 1916 he enlisted for war service and sailed for Africa where he was mentioned in dispatches for "meritorious service on the field". He has served the War Work Council as Recruiting Officer for colored workers for France and as Overseas Field Secretary; in the United States Army he was a Chaplain with the rank of First Lieutenant. Mr. Yergan is accompanied by his wife and Frederick Max Yergan, aged 5 months.

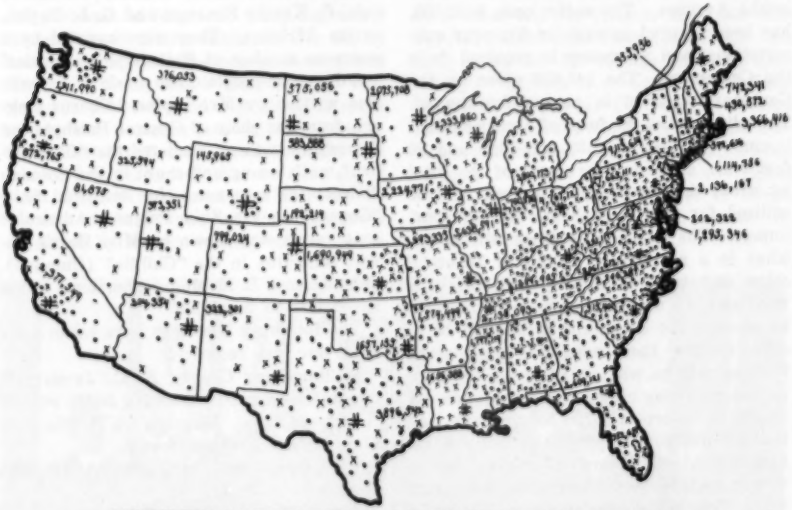
Edward Franklin Frazier has a noteworthy record for scholarship. He was born in Baltimore, Md. When quite young he finished the elementary school as valedictorian; in 1912 he was graduated from high school with a scholarship to Howard University, from which he was graduated in 1916 as a Bachelor of Arts with *cum laude* rank. In 1920, through a scholarship, he was graduated from Clark University,

Worcester, Mass. where he studied sociology and was awarded the degree of Master of Arts. By competitive examination, in which 31 colleges participated, he won a fellowship of $850 to the New York School of Social Work, 1920-21. Through a fellowship of $1,000 awarded him by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, he is now studying sociology and economics at the University of Copenhagen. Mr. Frazier has been a teacher of mathematics, English and history in colored schools of the South; during 1918-19 he taught mathematics and French in the Baltimore High School. He plans to teach sociology and inaugurate cooperative farming among Negro farmers.

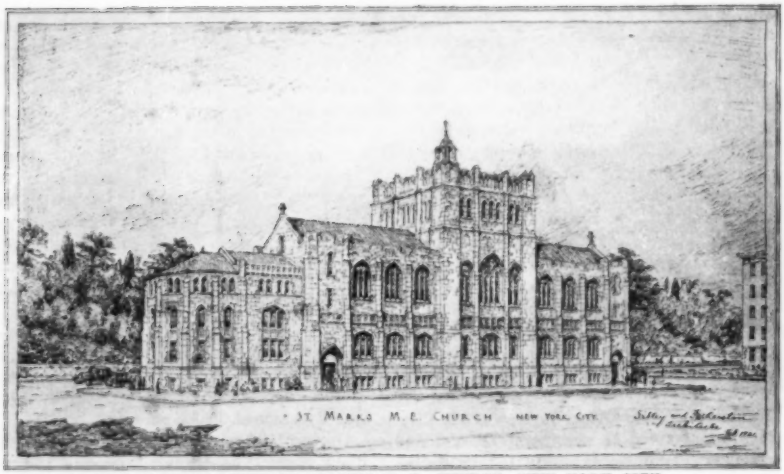
In 1916, Charles C. Allison, Jr., was one of 700 men who took the examination for Municipal Parole Officer in New York City. He was certified as eighth on the list and received appointment July 16, 1916, being the youngest officer appointed. Mr. Allison was born in New York City, September 26, 1889. He attended the High School of Commerce and in 1912 took up social service work with the National Urban League. He has served as the first colored field worker in the employ of the Big Brother Movement; in 1915 he was among officers invited to witness the execution of 5 men at Sing Sing, at which time a record was established—the 5 executions being completed in 65 minutes; in 1916 he was the only colored delegate present at the International Conference of Children's Court Workers, which convened in Grand Rapids, Mich. Mr. Allison's duties as parole officer are to make investigations of all men living in the 38th Precinct boundaries—the Harlem Negro section—who have been released from the penitentiary, the city reformatory and the work-house. Among probationers assigned to him was Luther Boddy. Mr. Allison has given supervision to almost 1,000 men, over 70 percent of whom have "made good".

Lt. E. P. Frierson, U. S. Army, retired, has been appointed a clerk in the Mailing Division of the Chicago Post Office. In the Civil Service examination he made a general average of 98.88 percent.

During its first 11 months of business the Black Swan Phonograph Company had total receipts amounting to $104,628; disbursements, $101,327. Its income is over $12,000 per month. Since May 1, it has organized a selling force throughout the United States through which it supplies thousands of agents and dealers with a total of 40,000 records per month. It manufactures and distributes Black Swan records, the Black Swan needle, and Swanola, a phonograph. Its shipments are made to every part of the United States, Mexico,



DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM OF BLACK SWAN PHONOGRAPH RECORDS
(● = 5 agents. + = 5 dealers. ⁂ distributors and jobbers. Figures refer to population.)



THE PROPOSED NEW ST. MARK'S M. E. CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

the Virgin Isles, South America, the Philippines and Hawaii. Recently the company purchased its own building at 2289 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where it employs an executive, clerical and shipping force of 20 people. Harry H. Pace is president of the company.

The new St. Mark's M. E. Church, New York City, will be located between 137 and 138th Streets, Saint Nicholas and Edgecombe Avenues. The entire cost, $400,000, has been secured in cash or five-year subscriptions, and no money is required from the Centenary. The $40,000 given by the Centenary assisted in paying for the lot. The edifice takes the form of a modern auditorium 124 feet long, 39 feet high and 53 feet wide, covering 68 percent of the total lot area; the remaining 32 percent will be utilized for the parish-house and the parsonage. The walls and ceilings will be finished in a rough cast plaster of beautiful color and texture, simply decorated; the woodwork of the chancel and seating will be of oak; the floors and aisles will be of cork, making them noiseless; the electric lighting will be what is known as indirect, no fixtures being necessary as the lights are placed in reflectors. The heating and ventilating will consist of intake and exhaust fans which will insure warm fresh air in winter and thorough ventilation in the summer. The Building Committee has under consideration a complete vacuum cleaning system. There will be a seating capacity for 2,200, and an organ which will cost $25,000. Sibley & Featherston of New York are the architects. Last October, St. Mark's celebrated its 50th anniversary. Dr. William H. Brooks is the pastor.

An African pageant, Asheeko, has been successfully presented at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, by Mrs. Casely Hayford, Miss Kathleen Easmon, Madakane Cele, C. Kamba Simango and G. L. Taylor, native Africans. They were assisted by a generous number of Philadelphia's musical and dramatic people. The music of Asheeko was written by Mr. Taylor. Chorus singers, from the choir of Central Presbyterian Church and others, rendered the "Chemalebvu", native song and chant in the Chindau dialect; the men sang the Betrothal Song "Gogogo" in the Zulu tongue. Admirable song talent was shown by Miss Hattie Savoy, contralto, in the "Chililio" (Chindau), and Clarence L. E. Monroe, baritone, in the Invocation to the Chief.

The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Williamsburg County, S. C., January 8, two unknown men; assaulting white woman

Eufaula, Ala., January 10, Willie Jenkins; insulting white woman

Oklahoma City, Okla., January 14, John Brooks

Mayo, Fla., January 17, unknown man; shooting white mail carrier

AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, HELD IN CHICAGO

Bollinger, Ala., January 28, Drew Conner (white), burned; reason unknown

Pontotoc, Miss., January 29, Will Bell; attacking white woman

Crystal Springs, Miss., February 1, Will Thrasher; attacking white teacher

Malvern, Ark., February 2, Harry Harrison, shot.

The Conference of the National Urban League held in Chicago, brought together a group of specialists in the economic and social problems of Negroes. Sixty representatives from 20 States attended. Mr. E. K. Jones, summarizing the year's work, stated that more than 70,000 Negroes had been placed in positions, and over $220,000 spent by various organizations of the League. "The Health Office of Newark," said Mr. Jones, "has announced that as a result of Child Hygiene work conducted there at the instance of the League and through nurses appointed by it and working under its direction, the mortality among colored babies dropped from 173.2 in 1920 to 106.0 in 1921." Two new departments have been added to the national organization—a Department of Research and Investigation and a Department of Extension. Of the latter department Mr. J. R. E. Lee, for 18 years the Director of the Academic Department of Tuskegee Institute, is in charge.

The Association of Colleges for Colored Youth held its annual meeting at Wilberforce University, with the following present: Dean H. M. Tilford, Knoxville College; President John Hope, Morehouse College; Dean M. W. Adams, Atlanta University; President J. A. Gregg, Wilberforce University; Dean J. T. Cater, Talladega College; President J. L. Peacock, Shaw University; President C. H. Maxson, Bishop College; President W. J. Clarke, Virginia Union University; Dean Gilbert H. Jones, Wilberforce University; Dean D. O. W. Holmes, Howard University.

DELEGATES TO CONVENTION OF ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR COLORED YOUTH

THE RULING PASSION

An Estimate of Joseph C. Price

THOSE years immediately following the Emancipation Proclamation startle one at times with their record of astounding achievement on the part of ex-slaves. It is only when we stop to realize that they represented the first outlet for centuries of the stifled desire and ambition of a thwarted people that we can understand how inevitably dynamic they had to be, a sort of metamorphosis of time into action.

Men were single-minded in those days, possessing that attribute which is the first ingredient in the mixture of qualities that make for an individual success. It is easy to see how the black boy of 70 years ago was already beginning to say to himself, "If ever I am free, there's one thing I will do." And then when freedom unbelievably, amazingly came he said to himself again: "If Freedom were possible, all things are possible. I must let nothing stand in my way."

THE LATE JOSEPH C. PRICE

The star of achievement to which Joseph Price, a black boy of those days, hitched his wagon was the founding of a school for colored youth, a sort of black Harvard. It turned out in the course of his career that he was to be offered many prizes—a government position, a seat in the Liberian mission, a bishopric, but each of these he steadfastly refused in order to pursue his cherished dream, the establishment of Livingstone College at Salisbury, N. C.

These were remarkable prizes for those days, but Joseph Price would none of them. From the day on which in 1862 he entered the Sunday School in St. Andrew's Chapel in Newbern, N. C., his heart was fixed. He was 8 years old then, small and black and barefooted, of "stern but pleasant looks". That sternness of expression no doubt was due to the singleness, the concentration of purpose which was even then beginning to show in his face.

From the beginning he himself must have felt that he was destined "to be somebody". Else why his eagerness to know all things? He beleaguered his teachers with questions. He answered those of other people. He had to have a mastery of wisdom for some day he meant to be a fountain himself for thirsty seekers after knowledge.

A good teacher makes a good pupil. As young as he was Price realized this for although in 1866 we find him a student in the St. Cyprian Episcopal School, by 1871 at the age of 17 he was teaching at Wilson, N. C. But being a teacher he learned his own limitations and back he went to school at Shaw University (already in action for those eager freedmen and their sons) and then on to Lincoln University at Oxford, Pa.

He had meanwhile become interested in religion and had connected himself with the A. M. E. Zion church. After the fashion of those days it seemed to him to be the thing to combine pedagogy with theology so during his senior year in college he entered the junior theological department graduating thence in 1881.

It was while he was at Lincoln that Congressman John A. Hyman, of Newbern, offered him a government position. The office paid $1,200 a year, a fortune in those days for a black man, but Joseph Price had

the artist's sense of values, he knew what he wanted and that was not gold. He was like the poet preferring to mull over his precious verse, starving in an attic rather than opulently to finger the tape in a broker's office.

The gods had bestowed on him that not infrequent gift of his race, the art of persuasive oratory. He had already distinguished himself along this line in college. When he graduated in 1879 he was valedictorian. Before he came out of the theological school he was sent as a delegate to the A. M. E. Zion general conference in Montgomery and because of his gift he was ordained elder before even he had obtained his degree as a minister. After his graduation he was sent in 1881 to the Ecumenical Conference which convened in London.

He directed the golden flow of his gift into one channel only, that of interesting people in the project of his school. At the close of the Ecumenical Conference he remained abroad to lecture in England, Scotland and Ireland. He returned with $10,000, with which in conjunction with another $1,000 given by the white merchants of Salisbury, he purchased the site of Livingstone College.

Of course he did other things and met with other honors. He became the acknowledged orator of his day, he was acclaimed a new leader, he was delegate at the Centenary of American Methodism in Baltimore in 1884. He was chairman of the A. M. E. and A. M. E. Zion Church Commission held in those days in Washington, D. C. He was president of the Afro-American League. Preparations were made for a Grand Southern Exposition and he was appointed Commissioner-General.

But the outstanding facts of his life are these. He was born in slavery and by the time he was 28 he had started a great school which 14 years after his death in 1893, at its quarto-centenary, had grown to astounding proportions. It had real estate valued at $250,000. In the course of its existence it had enrolled 6,500 pupils from 26 states. Its large faculty was comprised mainly of graduates from the collegiate, theological and normal departments. Among its alumni were numbered a bishop, presiding elders, well-known ministers, successful teachers and physicians, and all of these arose and called the name of Joseph Price blessed.

We Americans ascribe to Englishmen the quality of political diplomacy, to Frenchmen that of *finesse* and to ourselves the quality of grit. I like to think of Joseph Price, tall, majestic, superb of physique, of unmixed African blood as the epitome of his country's national characteristic.

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The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

EDMUND VANCE COOK, in *"The Uncommon Commoner"*:

The North! the South! the West! the East!
No one the most and none the least.
Each one a part and none the whole.
But all together form one soul.
That soul, Our country at its best,
No North, no South, no East, No West.
No yours, no mine, but only Ours,
Merged in one power, our lesser powers,
But all for each and each for all!

* * *

René Maran, whose novel "Batouala" brought him the Goncourt prize is, writes Alvan F. Sanbourne, in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, "a very close approach to a full-blooded Negro." He was born in 1887 at Fort-de-France in Martinique, but left there at the age of three to accompany his father who was in the French Colonial Service, to Libreville in Gabon, West Africa. Persistent ill health made it necessary for him to go to France. Mr. Sanborn gives the future author's own account of his school-days:

I was sent to the Lycée of Taleuce which is an annex of the Lycée of Bordeaux for the "petits", in the open country.

In 1894 a Negro was still a rarity in that part of France, and from the day I entered the school I was made to realize it. But after a little, thanks to my fists, I got myself respected.

I learned to read in a month, and I was almost always near the head of my class. I was what is commonly styled a brilliant pupil, but was very capricious.

We were ten colonials. Each one, in his respective class, obtained a prize in French. It was a point of honor with us—our revenge for railleries and the petty naggings of our schoolmates.

In the fourth class, I put into modern French verse the chanson of Roland and attacked that of Guillaume-au-court-Nez and that of the Chevalier Griese-Gonelles. During nearly all of that year I read thirty-two volumes a week on an average. I devoured Lombard, Maupassant and Zola as well as Hugo, Lamartine, Gautier and especially Alfred de Vigny. In fact, I read fantastically.

* * *

Dr. E. J. Dillon in his "Mexico" (Doran) declares that the United States has treated Haiti just as she did Mexico. Haiti was deliberately misrepresented, advantage was taken of her financial condition, and treaty demands were forced upon her. Her weakness was the State Department's opportunity and the latter's attitude in Dr. Dillon's opinion was tantamount to saying:

"We care nothing about your Constitution, nor whether your President is or is not authorized by it to sign treaties. We insist on his signing a treaty and our will must be done by hook or by crook". What the United States did in Haiti "has burned itself into the souls of all Central Americans", declares Dr. Dillon.

TWO LOSSES

THE death of Colonel Charles Young in far away Nigeria awakens many memories of his famous "Tenth Regiment". The New York *Sun* says:

He was that rare bird, a Negro graduate of West Point, and he was soaked with the spirit that has given the Tenth United States Cavalry worldwide prestige as a crack regiment.

New Yorkers who saw the Black Tenth jingle up Fifth Avenue after their return from hard service in the Philippines will never forget the storm of joyous admiration showered upon them by city crowds, who were carried away by the matchless *élan* and childlike good nature of those first class fighting men.

In later years, when a detachment of the regiment while hunting for Villa in Mexico was ambushed at Parral by an outnumbering Mexican force, it was Charles Young, then Major, who commanded the squad that Pershing dispatched to their relief.

Pershing himself had fought Redskins as a Lieutenant of the Black Tenth, and like every other white officer that ever served with it, he holds the regiment in peculiar affection and admiration. Its supremely soldierly traditions have been accumulating for fifty-six years. Its history has been written in a book. Its deeds have been sung. Its qualities have been praised to the skies by European military observers.

"They grew to be to our army what the Numidian horse was to the Roman legions," wrote Major Frank Keck, formerly of the Seventy-first Regiment, N. G. N. Y., when the Black Tenth celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1916. "Their life in the long reaches of the Western country developed courage, initiative and pride. Hunger, thirst, exposure, sudden skirmishes with foes fighting from ambush made the troopers of the Tenth not only first class fighting men individually, but shaped them into a military machine.

"From post to post the Tenth was transferred through the great Western country. The Sioux, the Cheyennes and the Apaches fled before their intrepid charges.

"As the need for fighting grew less, the Tenth took on more of the function of mounted police, and yet, such was the pride of tradition, war-service was the ideal always uppermost in the mind of every member. Many of the original recruits remained as long as the Government would let them, for they hated to retire. So it was that the Tenth in peace had in reserve its deadly efficiency, and it went into the Spanish War with veteran officers and many a grizzled sergeant who was himself a tower of strength.

"The achievements of the Tenth were the admiration of the foreign military observers who accompanied our expedition to Cuba, and they were impartial witnesses. They did not hesitate to assert their belief that the dismounted colored troopers were the very backbone of the American attack. Certain it was that the Tenth got the Rough Riders out of a very bad hole at Las Guasimas. Their timely arrival averted a greater disaster to the Rough Riders in the first land engagement near Santiago.

"The charge of the Tenth up the steep and tangled slope of San Juan Hill will always have a place in the military annals of the world. It kept raw troops from firing on their comrades in the distance, for the Tenth was used to wars of the ambuscade."

* * *

Before colored Americans could recover from the shock of Colonel Young's death, they were stunned afresh by news of the passing away of that splendid lady Miss Maria Baldwin. She met her death while addressing a meeting in behalf of the Robert Gould Shaw House at the Copley Plaza in Boston. Francis G. Peabody relates the sad happening in the Boston *Transcript*:

Everything seemed to assure a cheering

and profitable gathering. Then Miss Maria Baldwin, long the principal of the Agassiz School in Cambridge, and for the last six years its master, a colored woman of whose distinguished public service all Cambridge citizens are proud, rose to commend the Robert Gould Shaw House, of whose council she was a member, and to describe its congested conditions, with five hundred attendants, crowded classrooms and multiplying needs. Suddenly, when she was concluding this appeal, the strain of the occasion overtaxed her enfeebled heart, and she sank on the platform, dying almost immediately. The shock to those present was overwhelming, and the audience which had gathered to enjoy and encourage quietly dispersed to mourn. . . .

Hundreds of parents are indebted to her for the discerning and discriminating education of their children; hundreds of hearers have listened with gratitude to her wise and brilliant addresses, in which academic precision was softened by the mellow accent of her own race. Her undisputed position as teacher and principal gave to her school distinction throughout the country.

THE REVERSE OF THE MEDAL

FRANCE has been pretty generally acclaimed as lacking in color prejudice and as therefore treating her black subjects just as well as her white. But what is the actual case? Norman Angell, in the *Freeman* paints France as a veritable Utopia for Negroes:

Speaking broadly, the Negro living in France is all but unaware of the monstrous shadow that darkens every hour of the Negro's life in Anglo-Saxon communities. In France the Negro members of the Chamber of Deputies, or of the legal profession, or of the governmental administration, or of the Army and the Church, have not merely no official difficulties, they have no social difficulties in their relationship with their white colleagues. They dine in the homes of members of the Cabinet, plead for white clients in the Courts, and it would never even occur to their French colleagues to treat them with any sort of social exclusion.

* * *

The Negroes described by Mr. Angell would all seem to be the members of a black elite. But when it comes to the treatment of the common black man, in this case the native in French Colonial Africa, quite another method is employed. René Boisneuf, black deputy from Guadeloupe, scores France heavily in the Chamber of Deputies for her injustice to her dependents. Guy Hickok reports in the Brooklyn, N. Y., *Eagle*:

"Everywhere arbitrary force, everywhere injustice, [said Deputy Boisneuf], everywhere blundering, everywhere ruin or the peril of ruin, budgets collapsing under the cost of government personnel, and nothing being done to further social or economic progress of the natives."

He turned from generalizations to the exposure of abuses in particular colonies reducing to absurdity the pretension that the occupation of semi-civilized countries is for the benefit of the population.

The black deputy revealed that in the great colony of Indo-China the colonial administration had forced the sale of opium in districts which had hitherto been free from the drug. When his statement was denied he read both orders and letters from the Governor-General directing that steps be taken to increase opium sales, and showed that opium paid 40 percent of the colonial budget.

He emphasized the inconsistency of rigidly prohibiting the sale of opium in France while forcing it on one of the colonies whose inhabitants are, according to the French political theory, equal to white Frenchmen.

"You do not admit that the life of an Annamite or a Cambodian is worth less than that of a Parisian; that the life of a colonial is worth less than that of a native Frenchman. Therefore I cannot see how you can reconcile the consumption of opium in Indo-China, even for budgetary reasons, when it is rigidly prohibited in France. What a comedy! What hypocrisy!" . . .

Boisneuf charged that in his own colony, Guadaloupe, the white governors maintained a native military force used expressly for the purpose of defrauding the elections, and read several orders to the military bolstering up his statement.

Still more serious, he charged that Africa had been "decimated" since the French regime began there; that epidemics had carried off many; that intensive exploitation by French concession companies of the native labor had intensified the mortality rate; that in French Congo a great part of the native population had fled to neighboring colonies to escape the forced labor regime of concession companies.

* * *

René Claparède, president of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Defence of Aborigines, sends us a list of the leagues formed since the days of Wilberforce for the protection of black peoples. In the lists of wrongs which caused the formation of these leagues he does not omit those of France. He mentions:

First the "Congo Reform Association" in 1903, then the French league in 1908, the Swiss in 1908, and the German in 1910, in Europe;—one in Sidney, Australia; in Lima, South America, and in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909). For in the

United States, in spite of Lincoln's effort of reform, "emancipation" was by no means worthy of that name. What Channing had feared was unfortunately true; the "free" Black remained a slave to the domination, spirit and haughtiness of the White.

Leagues for the Defense of Natives must actually fight such abuses as these:

Spoliation of territories (Rhodesia, etc.)

Torture of Portage (French Congo, etc.)

Poisoning and depopulation through alcohol (New Hebrides and all colonies in general)

Driving of the Aborigines back into unproductive Reserves (Australia, Rhodesia, etc.)

Forced labor (Kenia Colony, British East Africa, Mozambique, etc.)

Indentured labor (Fiji Islands, etc.)

Kidnapping (Oceania)

Condemnation without judgment, and death sentence aggravated by tortures worthy of Middle Age customs (lynching, etc.)

Unjustifiable scorn of the Whites toward the Blacks (color bar in South Africa, United States, etc.)

Slavery for debts or peonage (certain South American States)

Domestic Slavery (Africa, South America).

CONSTITUTIONALITY vs. COMMON SENSE

THE enemies of the Dyer Bill base their antagonism on its unconstitutionality. "An anti-lynching bill of this kind," cries the *New World*, "will lynch the Constitution." "But what of that?" replies the Charleston *News and Courier*.

All this talk about the anti-lyching bill lynching the Constitution is nonsense. We never heard of anybody being lynched more than once and the Constitution was lynched long ago. But maybe the constitution has as many lives as a cat.

* * *

As a matter of fact the Dyer Bill is simply a fresh interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Representative Fess of Ohio gives as his exposition:

This much I am satisfied with, that while the constitutional question will be involved, and while I am sensitive as to taking anything for granted that is extremely in doubt, I do not believe there is any serious doubt upon the constitutionality of this particular legislation. I think the authority is specific by the force of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. So far as the argument on authority is concerned, we can build up a body of authority of the highest judgment in the world sustaining the basis of this legislation as being constitutional. Consequently that is not disturbing me very much. I think there is no doubt about our freedom to do it in view of the specific delegation of the power therein specified and also because of the authority that has been announced by men who know the significance of the legislation.

* * *

Posterity a hundred years from now will surely be moved either to tears or to laughter that a bill to make the Constitution of the United States more adequate in bestowing protection could be thus bitterly debated. Surely it is only common sense to take such measures. If our colored citizens could be sure of a fair trial it is probable that the flight of Matthew Bullock from North Carolina to Canada would never have taken place. As it is we read in the Pittsburgh, Pa., *Dispatch*:

The authorities of Ontario, Can., have refused to comply with the requisition demands of North Carolina for the surrender of a young Negro [Matthew Bullock], at present a fugitive under arrest at Hamilton. The Tar Heel officials are pressing their demands through conventional legal channels against a growing popular sentiment in Ontario that is urging provincial action against delivery of the prisoner except under certain conditions.

With the Dyer anti-lynching bill coming to debate in the House this week the refusal of a neighboring country to surrender a Negro fugitive because of the virtual certainty that he will be lynched, establishes a coincidence that will not be lost upon the American public, perhaps not wasted upon Congress. The fact that the Canadian prisoner's brother has been lynched for his share in a brawl between whites and Negroes over a trifling business transaction, is the principal obstacle to a surrender by the Ontario authorities.

The Canadian officials presume that if officers of the law in the North Carolina town where the demand for extradition originated would not prevent lynching of this man's brother there is no reason to suppose they would prevent a second mobbing.

* * *

If the Dyer Bill or its equivalent should be passed there would be a chance of no repetition of the Tulsa Riot, the effects of which have been so far reaching. A. J. Smitherson, a colored editor of Tulsa, describes in the Boston *Herald*, the riot's terrible aftermath:

While some few are rebuilding their homes and business places with their own money, or money obtained outside of Tulsa (because there is a tacit understanding among those who control the money in Tulsa that no financial assistance will be given colored men with which to rebuild their property in the business district of the

burned area), yet there are thousands who are not so fortunate. Hundreds of huts now stand where comfortable homes stood before June 1, and in these huts thousands of women and children "black in color, to be sure, but guilty of no other offense", are now huddling closely together in an effort to protect their scantily garbed and underfed bodies from the ravages of winter, a little less tolerable, perhaps, than the cold indifference of their white brothers and sisters, who recently paid the Rev. Billy Sunday $17,000 for preaching their sins away.

In the wake, above the din of a one-sided battle with machine guns and the roar of flames, above the cannonading sounds of explosives dropped from airplanes, which still linger in the minds of many of these poor people, come the heart-rending cries of suffering women and children begging for clothes and food to sustain life through the winter—pleading for justice!

But their cries evidently die in the distance before reaching the law-making body of our country, where a few days ago the solons were debating the constitutionality of a bill which, if enacted, would make effective the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Surely justice sleeps while injustice runs amuck!

* * *

Puzzle: Why is a Constitution?

AFRICA

AFRICA remains the riddle of riddles. Can Europe afford to arm the blacks for military service? asks the German editor of the Berliner *Tageblatt*. The Buffalo, N. Y., *Times* translates:

The *Temps* of Paris recently published figures showing that the French army now consists of 665,000 men, of whom 551,000 were in the French continent and 218,000 in the North African, Colonial and their colored contingents. Eighty-seven thousand men are stationed in the Rhineland, but it is not mentioned how many of each color. Now the length of military service is to be shortened from two years to one and one-half, and at the same time, in order to make up for the decrease in population, the number of colored troops will be increased to 300,000 and the French army will consist of about equal parts of black and white. We know very well that white men are often anything but virtuous, and that the European skin often hides barbarian instincts. The last years have shown this clearly enough. And, after all, who can say if there exists no black Plato, or Raffael, or Shakespeare in some of the Hottentot villages. But is it indifferent to the colonial peoples that Africa will soon be overrun by native soldiers who have been trained for military service in Europe? We hear so much of the decline in Eastern lands and it is a fact that the East has "cold and shrivelled up ears" and other signs which Hippocrates called signs of death, but in arming Africa, France, in order to stuff up a hole in the garden wall, is pulling down the dam which until now kept the Black Sea within its bounds.

* * *

The Reuter Press Agency reports that antagonism toward the white invader is rapidly increasing throughout Africa. The account continues:

Reuter's informant emphasizes the growing cohesion of native races throughout the continent. He says the strongest factor in the development of antagonism to the whites is skillful propaganda fostered by an extreme section of American Negroes.

Circulars coming from nationalist sources in India and Egypt and from Pan-African societies in the United States, translated into five of the principal African languages, are distributed in enormous numbers throughout Africa. Booklets of 25 to 30 pages urge that the time has arrived for the black races to assert themselves and throw off the white yoke.

It is only fair to say that these are not received with universal sympathy, but the very unsettling effect is easily to be observed.

It has been met in the Union of South Africa. In French equatorial Africa and in a lesser degree in Uganda, in Nyasaland, Belgian Congo, Abyssinia and Kenia.

It is wonderful the extent to which the war has produced fraternal feelings among natives, but in present circumstances they tend to become anti-European. The main reason is the growth of race consciousness through the world.

* * *

If, as seems likely, Africa is destined to overrun Europe, the opinion in the London *Observer* of General Mangin, the famous French leader of black troops on the Western Front, must prove a solace to the Negrophobe:

Potentially the black race is probably as good as the white. Consider for a moment of what recent date is our scientific civilization. We have gone ahead, and the records of our dealings with the black peoples, armed as we were with certain advantages, is not flattering to us. We looked upon them as slaves, and we continue in some sense to regard them as slaves. But what in the history of the world is an advance of a few hundred years? If one takes a wider view than Africa, if one looks at the colored peoples in general—and I have spent some years in the Far East, as well as in Africa—one sees that our own civilization has its sources in Asia, which is yellow; in India, which is bronzed; and in Egypt, which is black. Greece and Rome are comparatively

late-comers. We owe much to the Arabs. Our alphabets come from Asia, and our figures from Arabia, and long before Europe was settled there existed great civilizations. We, white men, are not the first, and we may not be the last, representatives of civilization. It is necessary to cultivate the world sense and to think in less limited periods of time. . . .

We have to distinguish between moral progress and scientific progress. I am convinced that morally many Africans have nothing to learn from us. All that vast zone which stretches from Senegal to Abyssinia, from Egypt to Morocco, from Algeria to Nigeria, is filled with monuments which testify to an immemorial civilization. They are states which for centuries have had an excellent organization as we understand it—with an army, a budget, a political, a religious, and an administrative service. There are spiritualistic religions which have existed for thousands of years, having at their base the idea of the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, and punishment for wrong-doing—cults which are free from idolatry or any kind of fetichism. The Mossi, for example, on the Niger, with whom I lived in 1890, have fine civic virtues and an admirable social order.

TAKE YOUR CHOICE

ART IN THE SOUTH

I FIND several Southerners whom I have asked about Gilpin's probable reception in the South almost equally divided in their opinions. Those who feel he will get the same more or less impartial hearing he has had in the North are quite as positive in their opinion as those who think he will not be tolerated for a moment by white Southern audiences. Exponents of the latter view explain that it is not the mere fact of a successful Negro actor, to which objection will be taken. It is the "glorification" of a Negro in the leading and only important rôle of a play. They assure me that a white man blacked up could play the part anywhere in the South without trouble.—Bruce Bliven, in the New York *Globe and Commercial Advertiser.*

* * *

A CLEVER MAN

TO most persons baling wire is simply wire, but to Allen Dixon, looking at all the rusty wire going to waste from bales of hay shipped into Nashville, rusty wire was rat traps. He pulled some wire off a bale, experimented with it and—got a patent.

Hardy & Hart, No. 100 Fifth Avenue, this city, are negotiating for permission to sell the patent right. Mr. Hardy admits the Negro will probably make a lot of money. He is said to have received already an offer of $25,000 in cash, or $5,000 down and 5 cents royalty on every trap sold.—New York *World.*

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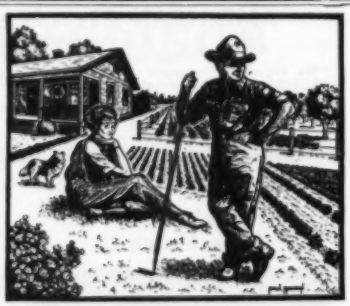

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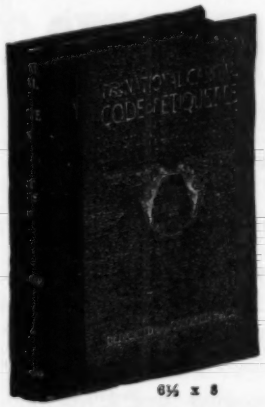

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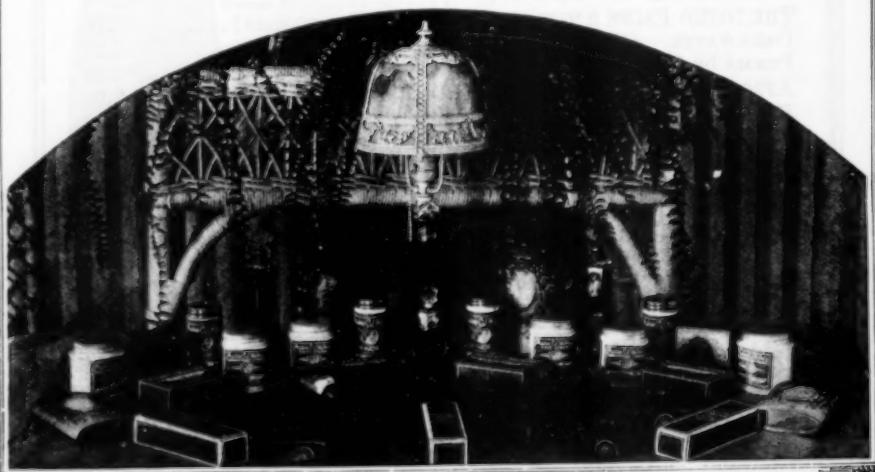
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